THE GM STRIKE: B. J. Widick

THE NATION

November 16, 1964 . . 35c

ELECTIONS '64

MORNING AFTER: The Future of the Parties

Carey McWilliams

THE MEN JOHNSON WILL NEED

Vincent P. Rock

CHINA TODAY: 'Walking on Two Legs'

Roland Berger

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LETTERS

No choice

Modesto, Calif.

Dear Sirs: The statement, "the poor show little initiative to break out of it (poverty) because for generations they have known no other way of life" ("Poverty's Second Generation" by Fred W. Lindecke, *The Nation*, Sept. 28) is invidious as well as reminiscent of a certain Presidential candidate. Certainly in the United States, lack of initiative is based less upon tradition or habit than simple economics.

Mr. Lindecke said so himself. A choice between doing sporadic, back-breaking work for $200 monthly and receiving welfare benefits in the same amount, is no choice at all. Rather, it is a social affliction, due largely to the unremunerative and exploitative nature of the work of our farm laborers.

This national problem will not be remedied until there is an adequate differential between all incomes and the meager welfare doles. Otherwise, vocational and literacy programs will be mere *apéritifs*, used to whet hungry appetites for a sumptuous meal never to come.

Gerald Amada

Speak up against horror

Boston, Mass.

Dear Sirs: Chandler Davidson's article, "America's 'Dirty' War" (*The Nation*, Nov. 2) makes one think about Bergen-Belsen, Auschwitz, Hiroshima, Mississippi, etc. . . . Most of us think, but . . . are there only a handful of people to protest about what is happening in Vietnam or in Mississippi or wherever it may be? Are there only a handful of people fighting to stop this mass murder?... I urge every reader of *The Nation* to protest loudly; I urge every civilized person to use his political power, by writing to his Congressman, to put an end to this nightmare. I urge every person to take an active part in persuading friends and acquaintances into the battle against these horrors.

The Nation is doing its job of informing, but let us not be just "well informed," let us speak up and be heard!

Nurtan A. Esmen

Russian discipline

Cumming, Ga.

Dear Sirs: Considering the events of the past several years within our country, I find it amazing that a fine liberal magazine can in all innocence say, "The Russians will never acquire a fully developed national pride, coupled with a feeling of governmental stability, until they learn to make their transitions in leadership in a civilized fashion" ("Khrushchev the Terrible": *Nation* editorial, Nov. 2). This kind of statement belongs to the HUAC, not to the editors of *The Nation*. . . . I would say that any nation which can change its first leader without the crutch of a prior prescription (date and method), and do this with a minimum of violence and confusion, is a confident and responsible nation. That no force was used is a commendation not a slur. After all, Khrushchev was not assassinated.

The problem of Russia's "feeling of governmental stability" is not, nor has it ever been, primarily internal. The unique structure of Soviet politics was fashioned in the face of and because of the implacable hostility of (most recently) the greatest military power on earth. This anti-Christian hostility, dating from the weakness of the Soviet Union's birth, was an essential ingredient for the shaping of her present "strength" and "discipline.". . .

William N. Callaway

The real Spaniards

Davis, Calif.

Dear Sirs: Just as the most authentic Spanish music has been composed by Debussy (or Ravel, or Chabrier), it seems that the best Spanish literature has been written by Montherlant (or Hemingway, or Le Sage or Corneille). At least, this is what I get out of Paul West's review, "Spain Between the Lines" (*The Nation*, Nov. 2). What a sigh of relief is heaved when he turns from Cela and that other Spaniard to the "wintry sanity" and "intellect" and "reasoned compassion" of the *musiú* Montherlant! If only the Spaniards would get rid of their oppressors, then they would all write like Frenchmen. And then we Anglo-Saxons could figure out what they're talking about. A lot of us outsiders are still bewildered by *Pascual Duarte*, but a whole generation of young Spanish writers seems to have gotten the message.

Oliver T. Myers
University of California

Reward of virtue

Long Beach, Calif.

Dear Sirs: The dollar and cents value of public morality is not stressed often enough or firmly enough. . . . I refer to the last paragraph quote from Alvin B. Lewis, Jr., district attorney of Lebanon, Pa., in "The Outcast of Lebanon" (*The Nation*, Nov. 2): "I hate to see this town's name dragged in the mud. We're trying to attract new industry, and we had been moving ahead in the past few years. Now, a few people can undo all this hard work."

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I believe it's worth repeating at this time—*one of the most effective ways to fight bigotry is with the reality of bad business and job loss.*

Sam Whitman

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The Morning After

The key question, the morning after, was: how stands the two-party system? For the time being, the usefulness of the Republican Party as an effective opposition party has been severely limited, if not destroyed. Under the most favorable circumstances, it will take the liberal-moderates four years, and more likely eight, to recapture control. A minority in their own party in both the Senate and House, the liberal-moderates have now been thinned out still further. Conversely, the Goldwater forces have strengthened their position within the party. The new elements that have rallied to the GOP in the South will bolster the Goldwaterites; these elements would desert in a moment if the liberal-moderates ever regained control. The "new conservatives" and their allies regard modern Republicans as the real enemy; they despise them more than they do the Democrats. It is not likely, therefore, that the Goldwater wing would be willing to accept the status of a minority or faction within a reunited GOP. They would be more inclined to bolt the party. In the Goldwater movement, checking the "drift toward socialism" is the primary objective; winning elections is secondary. For this purpose, tight control of a minority party—which they have at the moment—puts them in a good position to fight a delaying and sabotaging rear-guard action. They will not give up this position without a long, hard fight.

Other factors support this conclusion. A sizable "mental migration" to the Democratic Party of liberal-moderate sentiment—and money—had taken place even before Goldwater was nominated; this silent, unpublicized shift was a factor in the inept showing which the moderates made at San Francisco. President Johnson will seek to hold the Republican vote he received in this election; he has lauded "good" Republicans and announced that his will be a bipartisan administration. He can dangle appointments before the eyes of defeated liberal-moderate Republicans and some will accept. In addition, history has overtaken the modern Republicans; by any fair test, on domestic and foreign policy issues, they have more in common with the Democratic Party today than with other elements in their own party.

Goldwater's defeat does not mean the end of the Goldwater movement. He did not father the movement; the movement discovered him. There is a tendency, which Johnson's victory will encourage, to dismiss the Goldwater movement as merely the last upsurge of political nostalgia for an America that vanished at the turn of the century; on the morning after, it was already being glibly dismissed as a sect or cult, merely another "fringe" movement. There is nostalgia in it, but the movement feeds on other sentiments. New political energies are building up; new resentments are seeking to find political expression; a new kind of "status politics" is discernible. These discontents, on which Goldwaterism thrives, are not likely to abate; many of them are by-products of an affluent society for which "welfare liberalism" has no satisfactory therapies. So the threat remains—a shadow on the future.

For the Democratic Party, the Goldwater-Miller bid for power has augmented nearly every element that made up the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and New Frontier coalitions: Negroes (not only did they vote in unprecedented numbers but in some communities they gave the Johnson-Humphrey ticket 90 per cent and more of their vote), the Jewish and other minorities, Catholics, farmers, labor, city bosses, academicians and intellectuals, independents, wheeler-dealers and fast-buck operators; only the more rabid Dixiecrats defected. In addition, the Democrats gained the support of a substantial section of the important suburban vote, a considerable segment of "Big Business," the well-to-do, and a majority of the nation's newspapers. The Democrats have also won strength for the future by attracting "new breed" white Southerners—those who are neither old-line Dixiecrats nor the phobic variety—as well as 500,000 new Southern Negro voters, with more to come.

Reapportionment, which is just around the corner, is likely to improve Democratic prospects still further.

These gains must be weighed in a long-term scale. Republicans have occupied the White House in only eight of the last thirty-two years and then only when they nominated a military hero who was notably a nonparty man; they have held control of Congress in only four of those same years, and then by razor-thin majorities. Recent Democratic margins of 2 to 1 in the Senate and 3 to 2 in the House have now been increased. These gains will enlarge the "spread" of the Democratic Party in a way that bodes no good for the two-party system. It has become what Ted Lewis of the New York *Daily News* calls the party of "the tent and the table." At the head of the big table in the big tent sits a big friendly Texan who is willing to determine "shares" of the barbecue for everyone, including liberal-moderate Republicans, on the basis of a realistic estimate of voting potencies. As long as the GOP is controlled by the elements presently in charge, the Democratic Party is likely to remain what, for the moment, it is: a kind of "rally of the Center."

The immediate problem is clear. Where, in this new view, can one find a modern, viable, effective opposition party? The criticism which the GOP, as presently constituted, will direct at the Administration will not be relevant and therefore can be safely ignored. Goldwater Republicans cannot provide meaningful criticism of welfare liberalism because they reject it; they cannot offer an alternative foreign policy because they have none. What they seek to pass off as a foreign

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policy is simply the "forward" military strategy of the Air Force. On many of the characteristic problems of an affluent society, "welfare liberalism" and Keynesian economics have nothing to offer but more of the same —that is, more of the same programs which are in part responsible for much of today's social pathology. But the Goldwater party simply bewails this social pathology; it has no program to cope with it. A truly conservative party could mount an extremely effective criticism of some aspects of welfare-liberalism of the Johnson-Humphrey variety. But the elements that control the GOP at the moment are not conservative; they are reactionary, "counterrevolutionary."

They cannot, in sum, offer a sharp and realistic criticism of the Johnson Administration for the basic reason that they do not believe in the conventional political dialogue. The columnist Bruce Biossat has pointed out that the gulf between the adherents of the Goldwater movement—the hard-core of maybe 6 to 7 million Americans—and the rest of us is "so wide there is almost no real communication across it."

Listen to Horace Greeley III, a member of the Birch Society and a true believer of the radical Right: "I despise the Supreme Court . . . the war on poverty is nauseating . . . civil rights is Communist. . . . There are only two choices left for the United States: rightist control of the country or it goes down the drain. It has been going down the drain for twenty years of course." Clearly Mr. Greeley no longer believes in politics.

The effect of the election, therefore, is to leave us with a crippled or deformed two-party system. Conceivably, an opposition will develop within the Democratic Party but an intraparty opposition can never be more than partially effective; there must be a real alternative. For the time being, the surviving liberal-moderate Republicans and the liberal Democrats will have to provide whatever effective opposition can be mustered, not to mention the problem of focusing pressures on the Administration to prevent its own drift to the Right. But even if the liberal-moderates were to recapture control of the GOP, and sooner than now seems likely (Nixon has already moved to destroy Rockefeller's usefulness), the two-party system would not necessarily be restored. It will no longer suffice for the Republicans to base their program on a "we could do it better" slogan. The moderns would not only have to recapture the GOP: they would have to refashion it.

"Our presidential system of government," writes Walter Lippmann, "is unworkable, mechanically unworkable, if there are more than two parties, for there is built into the system itself a compelling premium to divide the voters into two parties." In terms of population division this is no doubt true, but we have suffered under a four-party system for many years: conservative vs. liberal-moderate Republicans (Congressional vs. Presidential leadership); Dixiecrat vs. liberal Democrats (again Congressional vs. Presidential leadership in James MacGregor Burns's analysis). To put it another way, from 1932 to 1964 we had a "bipartisan" system which cut directly across the parties and within which the range of difference on most issues was one of degree and not of substance or kind. In fact the differences between liberal and Dixiecrat Democrats, between the moderates and the other Republicans, was probably as great as, or greater than, the differences between the parties. This "bipartisan" setup has now been institutionalized—for the time being—in one party. In a word, the Democratic Party has itself been "bipartisanized" or, more accurately, "Johnsonized." Out of this new and perhaps temporary amalgam new combinations or structures may emerge, but for the moment we are left without an effective opposition party.

Such an opposition to Johnson's big party of the Center would have to force the debate into the area of what it really is that constitutes a "great society." This is now a question of definition; myths will no longer suffice. In a notable commencement address last year, Dr. Grayson Kirk of Columbia University posed the problem as it should be posed (emphasis added):

> Our country has rounded a corner in its history and the road which led to that corner no longer beckons us on ahead with the same legible signposts that guided our fathers. *In one sense the American Dream is over.* Many of the cherished beliefs of our national youth no longer seem to fit the conditions of life in our time. In consequence, it is fair to say that our people appear to be in a greater state of national confusion than at any time in their peacetime history. . . . Once we were busy with the physical building of our country. . . . Our free economic system would bring us affluence, and affluence would bring us happiness and the leisure that would enable us to cultivate all the gentler arts. It was to be our destiny, through precept and example, to lead the world into a new and a golden age. . . . But now the glow of this youthful enthusiasm has faded. We have discovered that our form of government is not in every respect ideally suited even to our own present day needs, and that it is not generally regarded as a panacea for other countries. . . . We have come to realize that our physical power, though the greatest ever possessed by any state in history, cannot in our time assure either our safety at home or the automatic implementation of our national will abroad. And, finally, we have become uncomfortably conscious of the fact that, though our history is, on balance, a success-story without parallel, we continue to have a multitude of ugly and difficult domestic problems that cause much of the world to look upon us with a judgment that is far from that which we would wish them to have.

In a word, an era of politics in the grand style is upon us; the mouthing of traditional pieties will no longer suffice, nor will slogans substitute for policies. Is a "great society" one that, on an ever larger scale, continues to despoil the environment? Are present budget priorities really designed to produce a "great society" or a caricature of one? Can we continue to guide our foreign policy with compulsive slogans: "anti-communism," "containment," "the free world," etc.? How is the scale of the military budget to be determined? How is a policy of reconversion to be brought about? How should resources be allocated? Should we plan and for what? How do we propose to

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cope with the on-going consequences of the scientific-technological revolution? How are we to fashion the first multiracial large industrial society the world has ever known—without discrimination and with full equality of opportunity? These are some of the issues a real opposition would have to raise.

We may take comfort in the fact that the "big spread" of the LBJ party will not dominate the Center for an indefinite future. Issues of enormous turbulence are surfacing in American politics; the world scene is in a state of renewed flux; and there are many imponderables. For example (to suggest merely one of many questions that come to mind), could Hubert Humphrey hold "the big spread" together if he were to succeed to the Presidency? We simply do not know what the future of the two-party system may be because the circumstances of this election were unique. Goldwater's nomination is what brought about the present peculiar crowding at the Center (although that too had been going on for some time); millions voted *against* Goldwater, not *for* Johnson, and millions liked neither candidate. A pattern of vote switching motivated by distrust of one nominee does not reflect a fundamental realignment or true polarization. But one thing is certain: a camel with one huge hump and a rump is not a two-hump camel.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

Fare Thee Well, South

In the flushed magnanimity of victory, President Johnson urged all Americans to "bind up our wounds and make this nation whole." There is one wound, however, which calls for further excision — the Dixiecrat South. A wide margin of victory gives the President a latitude that he might not have had before. It also provides guidelines for the future which a discerning politician will heed. When all of New England —including Vermont and New Hampshire! — goes Democratic, while Mississippi and Alabama switch to the GOP, it is an invitation to the President to make an end of the blackmail on which the so-called Democrats of the Deep South have thrived for decades.

Let the reality be faced: the Dixiecrats are enemies of the Democratic Party, or of any party that aspires to move with the times. They should no longer be permitted to promulgate their racist doctrines within the party, to hold their positions of seniority by virtue of membership in the party. The 1965 Johnson Administration is in a position to expel them, as they would long ago have been expelled in Britain, a country in some ways more democratic, and committed to more orderly and sensible electoral processes, than the United States.

The defecting states in the election just concluded are Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. No attempt should be made to placate the racist oligarchy in these states. Mississippi and Alabama are to all intents and purposes in a state of insurrection. The lives of Negroes who try to assert their constitutional rights, and of whites who come to their aid, are in immediate danger.

It would not only be sheer political immorality to allow present anomalies to continue, but poor politics in the most practical sense. The Negro vote in the alienated states will continue to increase. Blood may flow, but nothing will stop the drive for equality. The whites of the South who wish to see an end of Confederate conspiracies have earned the support of the Democrats of all parts of the country, including those of the Southern states which remained in the Democratic column. But with the rebels, the time for compromise and vacillation is past.

What We Owe to Barry

In the issue of May 11, 1963, *The Nation* printed an editorial, "We Support Goldwater," which suggested that a contest between Barry Goldwater and John F. Kennedy, pitting the 19th century against the 20th, would be worth the slight risk of Goldwater's winning. In the issue of October 26, 1963, in "Ticket for the GOP," we proposed that Richard Nixon run for the Vice Presidency with Barry at the top of the ticket, a blend which would give the voters the clear-cut choice that Barry later made a slogan of his campaign.

A month later President Kennedy was assassinated, but in "The Big Kazoo" (January 20, 1964) *The Nation* was still defying the lightning—if the Republicans so willed it, Goldwater against Johnson would serve. We did not rate Barry's chances very high, even for the nomination, but we were underrating the maladroitness of several of his opponents (not Governor Rockefeller, who made a gallant and workmanlike effort). So Barry made it.

Now that he has taken the pratfall that was widely predicted for him, it is only fitting to pay tribute to his accomplishments which, though unintentional, are on a grand scale. By his outlandish pronouncements, Mr. Goldwater has made "peace," "negotiation," etc., eminently respectable concepts throughout the length and breadth of the land. His contribution in this regard is probably greater than that of all the country's peace organizations combined. It marks a beginning, at least, of delivering the United States from the Munich complex which, torn out of its 1938 context, had come to mean that any negotiation with "bad people" was necessarily a sellout. In practice, the bad ones always turned out to be Communists; with others one could reason. President Johnson, with his remark that one can tell a man to go to hell but it is another thing to make him go there, deserves some of the credit, but he could never have done it without Barry's baiting.

As a result of his call for extremism in the cause of freedom, and his appeals for support from the radical Right, right-wing extremism has become a matter of national concern, with a large section of the clergy, the press and other publicity media joining in the novel pastime of shellacking somebody other than Communists. During the last twenty years one would have thought there was only one kind of extremism in the country. In a few months under the bright lights, Barry did what years of hortatory effort in the liberal press had failed to do. Now we know that in America,

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as elsewhere, a Center, Left and Right all exist, and that extremists may be found at both extremes.

Barry has made many other contributions to the peace and prosperity of the United States which, in the aggregate, entitle him to the thanks of his countrymen. The John Birch Society will never be the same, now that it has kissed and well-nigh killed him. Barry has liberated us from the hypnotic spell of the white backlash, which didn't lash. He exposed the myth that Texas millionaires would lavish their substance on the Right. They may have liked the cause but, with everyone else, they smelled a loser.

So Barry's role was constructive, after all; he will be remembered. But if the Johnson Administration continues to show as much sense in governing as it did in campaigning, it is unlikely that he will try again.

The Men Johnson Will Need . . . Vincent P. Rock

What will President Johnson do? The nation has chosen, but what? In one perspective the choice is of a conservative over a radical; in another, of progress over reaction. But most important, the nation has chosen unity over faction at home, and nuclear prudence over military rashness abroad.

But the choice was one of mood; it leaves open the selection of direction. Abroad, we have quit the bipolar world and entered the era of multiatomic politics. The nation's choice of nuclear prudence is a recognition of that fact. The people have voted their anxiety, their fear of the threat to their existence. Without panic, they have voted for the man who admitted the threat. They do not expect him to eliminate nuclear weapons, but they hope he will act to avoid the catastrophe they contain.

At home, the nation has confirmed its desire to move forward toward a full sense of community. Once again it has chosen a federal union dedicated to full employment, social security, business opportunity and civil rights—with special attention this time to the rights of the Negroes. In choosing, it has left open, as always, the relative distribution of powers between the federal and state government. The relationship between the federal government and business and other institutions was hardly at issue.

In short, the nation voted for nuclear peace, national prosperity and community unity, but in what direction do these goals lie?

The President will give the lead, not by his formal pronouncements so much as by the men through whom he elects to work. His capacity for growth will be demonstrated by the men who command his attention. Three concentric circles of actors may be envisioned. First are the members of the executive team. Numbering some 200 to 300, they comprise the formal inner circle around a President. Second are the leaders of Congress, key governors and mayors and representatives of business, labor and education. Some 700 to 800 such men will have a voice. Third are the handful of world leaders: Wilson, Erhard, de Gaulle, Brezhnev, Mao, Shastri and half a dozen others—men of independent power, but also dependent on one another for survival.

The task of the inner circle is not to innovate but to smooth out the rough spots in progress, whether at home or abroad. Their timely appreciation of what is required is crucial to success. The choice of men for the Johnson Administration will be conservative. The country wants to make progress cautiously. The President's nonideological "*common sense*" leads in that direction.

Under Kennedy, the small margin of victory led to a conservative administration. Under Johnson, even with a large plurality, the same initial position is to be expected. But we may be certain that the men will change. Kennedy carry-overs who remain will do so because, by background and role, they suit the Johnson style. Sargent Shriver, for example, may rise high. But many others will drop out, not so much because of their ideas as because of their life style. The gnarled oaks of New England will remain but a Western breeze is blowing.

In the second circle are the men who will influence the substance of conservative progress. Under Johnson, the influential members of this group will be those who represent a broadening cosmopolitan elite. In Congress the group is symbolized by Mansfield, Fulbright and McCarthy; in the states and cities, by Connally, Rockefeller and Wagner; in business by Henry Ford, Henry Fowler and Robert Anderson; in education, by Clark Kerr, George Kistiakowsky and Lloyd Berkner. From men such as these will come the specific ideas which will give content and color to the Administration of President Johnson. He will look to such men for support in putting the liberal programs across—conservative adjustments to changes in the environment.

In the early period the President's attention will be centered on the selection of his men for the first group and in understanding and manipulating the second group. While he will move to make contact with the third group, they will not initially command his sustained attention. Gradually, however, as Mr. Johnson becomes accustomed to his own Presidency, he will look outward for new minds to engage. When he does, he will find a challenge not yet fully met by an American President, not even by Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The leaders of the world are waiting to be led. But this is no simple part-time task—it is more demanding even than running the Senate. The world leaders, like Senators, have an independent power base. Each seeks the advancement of the men and ideas prevalent in his own area. Each has at least an iota of interest in the prospects of mankind. Each leader has power to do many things, but some goals can be achieved only by working with other leaders. The multiatomic nuclear age will produce a leader of leaders—or it will produce an explosion. When will President John-

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son turn to the challenge? The first small signs that he is beginning to do so could come quickly. But he will require help. Hubert Humphrey may again play the role of whip, but a fundamental change of outlook in the State Department is required. Science and technology and foreign policy must be joined in the creation of opportunities for leadership. The ground must be prepared. Step by step, President Johnson may then take his place in history as the leader in the forum of world leaders, the world's Senate, so to speak. But another question will then arise: whence will come the program to be pushed through the senate?

GM STRIKE

Prototype for More Conflict . . . . . B. J. Widick

Detroit

The nearly six-week shutdown recently of General Motors must be described as the most prolonged and the biggest "wildcat" strike against American industry since the sitdowns of the turbulent thirties. Neither the auto industry, nor Walter Reuther nor the Johnson Administration wanted or expected the walkout. After the generous and peaceful package won at Chrysler, and the acceptance in principle of that agreement at Ford, the almost unanimous consensus about the conclusion of the 1964 auto negotiations was summed up in the September 26 issue of *Business Week*:

It was all but settled by midweek. The 1964 labor pattern for the auto industry's Big Three took final shape when General Motors offered the United Auto Workers contract terms comparable to the historic settlements at Ford and Chrysler. Some non-economic issues remained to be resolved and the formal agreement probably would not take place until the Friday morning deadline. Until then, a strike was possible—but it was most unlikely.

This miscalculation was shared by top union officials and the General Motors team headed by Vice President Louis G. Seaton, the company's main negotiator. Part of the story of the unwanted and surprise strike was told in *The Wall Street Journal* on Monday, October 5: "GM had good reason to be amazed when the strike was called. A high union officer told a top company bargainer just hours before the strike deadline that the UAW was ready to accept GM's final offer—then the deal was called off less than an hour before the deadline."

The *Journal* article then gives the General Motors version of what happened:

GM Vice President Louis G. Seaton, the company's top negotiator, says he believes the union's long and loud demands for easier production quotas, improved grievance procedures, better handling of overtime and other general improvements in working conditions were mere propaganda masking a single key issue: More time off the job for the 1,796 company-paid union committeemen, the UAW's agents in the plants who take up the cudgels with the boss when a worker has a complaint.

Having made this judgment, Mr. Seaton waited until the final hours of the last all-night bargaining session to make the offer that was supposed to head off a strike. The major element in the "final" company proposal was an offer to raise the minimum time that committeemen could devote to union activities during a week to 20 hours from 15. Mr. Seaton says GM also offered improvements on 50 other matters relating to working conditions, but apparently no important concessions were made on the other major issues Mr. Reuther had been pushing.

After a brief conference among a few key union bargainers, a high UAW official informed Mr. Seaton that the offer of increased time for committeemen was sufficient and that the union would agree to a contract. Mr. Seaton, who has 30 years of experience in dealing with the UAW, was so confident the informal commitment was binding he informed Frederic Donner, GM's chairman, that a strike would be averted.

The official who informed Seaton that UAW President Walter Reuther and Leonard Woodcock, director of the UAW's GM department, had accepted the terms was Woodcock himself. The leaders' approval was based on their sound appraisal that "We made more progress on working conditions and production standards in these negotiations than we did in the last three or four sets of GM negotiations."

That progress turned out to be the source rather than the end of troubles. For it emphasized to secondary leaders in the union how many basic issues of hours and working conditions had in the past been ignored or relegated to secondary importance while the union concentrated on fringe benefits. These issues loomed as far more decisive to the men from the locals and the plants than did the attractive economic package which was initiated at Chrysler, and then accepted by Ford and General Motors. In four areas of major importance to the men and women on the assembly lines, the previous contracts negotiated at General Motors—although they matched the economic gains at Chrysler and Ford—were far behind those signed by the other two major auto producers. The areas were: production standards, allowance of time for union representatives to handle grievances, harsh disciplinary measures and compulsory overtime. Reuther could not convince the eleven-man negotiating team from the GM locals to accept the final offer, and it was rejected by a 10-to-1 vote. The strike followed.

The astonishing situation in which the best contract in the past decade and a half turned out to be the least satisfactory to the union locals was only the first of the paradoxes that occurred in auto negotiations this fall. General Motors and the UAW were both so eager to avoid the side effects of a strike—even without a prod from Washington—that both sides readily agreed to allow as many key plants as possible to work, so that Ford and Chrysler, which use certain key GM parts in their cars, would not be affected by the troubles at General Motors. One of the immediate re-

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sults of this decision was to give Ford and Chrysler a competitive advantage, or so it seems. Both soon announced increases in their share and amount of new car sales.

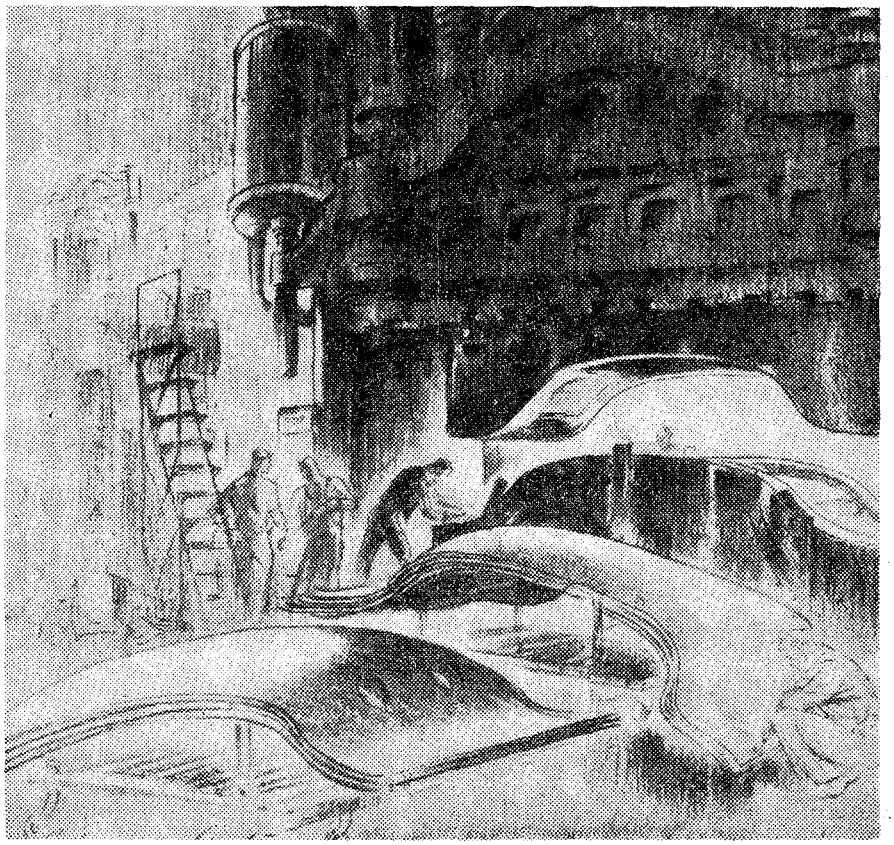
Chrysler's retail total was up a fat 23 per cent from 1963 during the first ten days of October, and Ford was up 12 per cent in the same period. This was not and is not a major worry for General Motors, although its dealers are screaming for cars. During the past decade GM's most agonizing problem has been to avoid taking too *large* a share of the car market (it once hit 56 per cent of total sales). For General Motors is most reluctant to arouse any public demand for a breakup of the company—with Chevrolet, for example, becoming an independent entity. Its astonishing profits depend on practicing economies on a scale unheard of in most American industry. Few persons in Detroit expect GM to have serious difficulty retaining whatever share of the market it aims for in 1965.

That was one reason why during the first two weeks the shutdowns caused such little concern at GM. And for their part, the workers had spent so much time and energy on overtime in the past two years that a short shutdown was a welcome relief. Furthermore, a brief strike could also serve as a safety valve for "blowing off steam." General Motors officials recognize such facts of life; they were also secure in the knowledge that overtime schedules could easily pick up current production losses. However, after it began to seem that the walkouts would not quickly end, President Johnson is reported to have reminded both parties of their responsibilities. There were also signs that a prolongation of the shutdown for most GM plants could disturb somewhat the continuing economic prosperity of which President Johnson was so proud, and might have a damping effect on his 1964 Presidential campaign. At this stage the UAW officialdom decided to call a conference of the General Motors delegate council and obtain approval of the national agreement. This course of action was overwhelmingly approved by the union delegates, but they stipulated that local unions be permitted to stay out until local issues were resolved. Since ninety-five of the bargaining units had settled local matters, the end seemed in sight and the nation was informed that the General Motors strike was over on October 25.

But the fact that the General Motors strike was over didn't mean that it had ended, since the twenty-eight local union bargaining units, which had not settled so-called local issues, were in plants that produce 77 per cent of General Motors cars. That is why, although the strike officially ended on October 25, it would not in fact be settled until November 6 at the earliest. But at least GM's labor problems were off the front page during the last week of the election campaign.

This review of events at General Motors is important from two standpoints: the events are a portent of things to come, not only in auto but in other industries; and they should dispel the notion among some business and editorial writers that Reuther fomented the strike. Reuther and his associates did call an official strike but only to prevent recurrence of the embarrassing events following the 1958 and 1961 negotiations. At these times, it may be recalled, a series of wildcat strikes took place after a nationwide agreement had been made. The UAW was determined this time to have better control of events. Reuther had good reason to believe that with a gain of between 54c to 60c an hour over a three-year period, and with earlier retirement benefits, improved pensions, longer vacations and other concessions, he had won an almost irresistible package. It wasn't his fault that the members had other interests, more compelling than either he or the GM officials realized.

Perhaps the most certain outcome of the 1964 agreements is that instead of bringing peace to the auto industry, as expected, they are more likely to be a source of further trouble. Within the plants, aggravation can be expected to arise from one of the greatest gains the UAW made. The new contracts at Chrysler, Ford and General Motors provide for an additional twelve minutes' relief time daily for workers engaged in continuous operations, in theory these being the jobs on the assembly lines. This means that about one out of every three workers will receive thirty-six minutes of relief a day from what Reuther himself described as "Gold-plated sweat shops." The trouble will begin as soon as auto workers not on the assembly lines see others getting something they don't have. Chief stewards and committeemen are going to feel a heavy pressure on this issue. With local union elec-



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tions coming every other year, a promise of equal relief for all workers is bound to be attractive campaign material.

Another indication of continued unrest in the auto shops was the announcement late in October by the UAW that it had now set a November 6 strike deadline at Ford. Earlier, Walter Reuther had said on TV that no such action was contemplated even after a GM settlement. This reversal in policy took place because twenty-three bargaining units out of the ninety at Ford had not reached local agreements. The UAW has had continuing difficulty over the past three years with restive members in Ford stamping plants and in some assembly plants; there have even been moves to leave the UAW. Meanwhile the Ford company has borne down hard in discipline cases. The issues there are not easy to resolve.

Perhaps the most disturbing situation is about to arise in the many parts companies that have UAW contracts. Few of them can afford the economic package won by the UAW from the Big Three, but there will be enormous pressure from union ranks in that direction. In the middle of October UAW officials were booed and heckled at a rally of the skilled trades locals in Detroit. The skilled trades, as usual, expect more, and are in a strategic position to get it. Strikes at parts plants or in tool and die shops can keep the industry in a state of uncertainty for some time.

The challenge to the auto industry and to the UAW implicit in these turbulent developments is understood by Walter Reuther, who remarked recently that "Both the UAW and GM have learned a lesson this year. We have got to create a more rational mechanism within our union and within GM to tackle our contract negotiations in the future." Not the least of the steps necessary will be to eliminate the false distinction between local and national union issues. Seaton was correct when he complained that most of the 17,000 grievances or local issues were related to a desire to change the national agreement, and for years the UAW leadership has been ignoring the obvious implications of a tendency that is at the root of current unrest.

Collective bargaining in other industries, most notably steel, will feel the effect of the auto agreements. It won't be as easy to hold the steel union to the 3.2 per cent productivity guideline for wage policy which has been set down by the Johnson Administration. Sentiment at the recent steel workers union convention for a change in leadership was outspoken. There was talk of reducing President David McDonald's $50,000 a year salary to $30,000; even more painful was an attempt to introduce a constitutional amendment forcing international union officers to retire at the age of 60. McDonald is 62. Since McDonald is extraordinarily sensitive to the needling he frequently gets about not being as effective as Walter Reuther, there is good reason to expect a most difficult round of steel negotiations early in 1965.

In addition to steel, the violent factional struggle in the International Union of Electrical Workers between the administration of James Carey and his rival for president, Paul Jennings, is another manifestation of growing unrest in union ranks. It was evident also at the recent rubber workers and coal miners union conventions.

Besides entering into a more strained period in labor relations, the industrial scene has again become the focal point for an argument about the "inflationary" character of wage agreements.

It should be noted that auto industry leaders did not refer to the chorus of editorial warnings against the inflationary consequences of exceeding the President's 3.2 per cent guideline. There were two basic reasons for industry's forbearance. First, auto production last year rose by more than 8 per cent and so far this year was up another 9 per cent —with no major changes in prices. Such a rapid rise, due to high-efficiency production, provided very generous profits and enormous rewards for company managers; it allowed as well a large flow of revenue into the depreciation allowances for new equipment, thus enhancing stockholders' equity.

Recently, Prof. James Kuhn of Columbia University made a study of profits, executive bonuses and wages in the auto industry, and his findings illuminate the second major reason why the industry couldn't argue seriously with the UAW about keeping wages within the guideline. Professor Kuhn pointed out, for example, that General Motors profits (after taxes) in 1963 were $1.6 billion, up 9 per cent from the year before, and now equal to almost 10 per cent of sales (22 per cent of invested capital). Earlier this year the company announced that the bonuses of its top fifty-six executives had gone up by 5.6 per cent, and now amounted to almost $9.5 million. Bonuses of 14,028 executives and managers had increased by 6.4 per cent, to $100 million. The press noted, but did not complain about, these increases, which are far above the national guideline. In fact, they are equal to a yearly rise of 14½c per hour for each of the 345,000 GM workers represented by the UAW.

The bonuses Chrysler executives paid themselves last year represented an even greater increase— up 400 per cent to $15.5 million and enough to finance an annual wage rise of 10½c per hour for the 74,000 UAW workers. Professor Kuhn concluded — and this writer agrees—that the increases in pay of company executives may well be deserved, as may be the $300 profit per car which the industry averaged in 1963. But if such bonuses and profits are not kept within the Administration's suggested limits, only saintly self-restraint will make the workers in the shop satisfied with lesser gains for themselves.

There is another factor. It may be difficult for outsiders to grasp, but there is no greater bargain in the auto industry than assembly line labor at $4 an hour, including fringe benefit costs. It is not the hourly wage rate that counts but the unit labor cost, and this has been steadily dropping in the auto industry. Stated another way, the annual productivity increase is conservatively estimated at more than 6 per cent, and in that context the 4.9 per cent estimated increase of the new UAW economic package falls below any productivity guideline for that industry.

To be sure the President's Economic Report in January declared that "the guidelines call for [price] reductions in those industries whose trend productivity gains exceed the national trend." The report adds, "It is fair to say that large industrial enterprises thus far have not widely heeded this advice."

Editorial writers and economists concerned about inflation should re-

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member what the President's report said. As for the auto industry, there is no question but that more automation and technological improvement will reduce unit labor costs still further, and that price increases are not necessary unless the industry seeks profits beyond even the present fabulous net earnings.

Wage guidelines from Washington ought to be challenged on other grounds too, for they only add to the complications of the bargaining table. It is as absurd for unions to demand a 3.2 per cent wage increase in low-profit and low-productivity industries as it is to restrain unions in industries like auto and steel. Union leaders simply can't deliver guideline wage increases in some cases, but try telling that to the rank and file. And unless the Johnson Administration wants the largest turnover of union officials this nation ever saw, it had better not throttle the steel union's urgent demands for a "UAW package." Besides, how can labor get its share of the productivity increases resulting from automation if an artificial figure like national productivity is used as a guideline rather than the situation in a particular industry? The rate of introducing automation is not the same in each industry nor are productivity gains.

Under these circumstances unions in high-productivity industries would be doing less than their minimum job if they observed the guidelines. In any case, pressures from the union members make this almost impossible.

For we are entering a new stage in labor relations. It was described recently at a management meeting by Stan Brams, editor of *Labor Trends*, who has studied the industrial scene since the early thirties as a labor reporter and an industrial relations expert. Brams observed:

> *Today a Third Force is growing up in labor* [the other two being the economic environment and union leadership].
>
> *The pressure of the third force, the pressure of the rank and file membership ideas and aspirations, is directed against both the union and the company. It has been growing stronger these past few years. It is responsible for many of the apparent contradictions in labor demands and union strategy, and it will be responsible for more.*

All evidence on the industrial front confirms this insight.

CHINA TODAY

'Walking on Two Legs' . . . . . Roland Berger

The three years of natural disasters —1959, 1960 and 1961—have left the Chinese people toughened, more confident and more solidly supporting their government—this is the dominant impression made upon me by seven weeks spent in China in the autumn of 1963 and another six weeks in the spring of 1964, my eleventh visit since 1953.

The Chinese people went through a period of considerable hardship in those three years. While there is no evidence to suggest that in any area of China there was serious malnutrition, conditions were exceedingly difficult and were undoubtedly a severe test of the social and political cohesion of the country, and a challenge to the commune organization to deal with sudden emergencies and local disasters. All the evidence indicates that China and the Chinese were strengthened by this testing period.

Now that food supplies are greatly improved (there was a heavy crop of vegetables and fruit last year, and bumper harvests of all foodstuffs and industrial crops are expected in 1964), enthusiasm and elation have passed into a mood of a different kind: a national, local and personal pride that China has been able to "take" the disasters and the withdrawal of the Soviet technicians, and has met the crisis by its own efforts and in its own way. The new phase is referred to as "The Great Leap Forward With Cool Heads."

The policy of "self-reliance" did not, however, arise from the recent difficulties caused by the natural disasters, as some people think. It was in August, 1945, in the Yenan days, that Mao Tse-tung posed the question, "On what basis should our policy rest?" and answered: "It should rest on our own strength and that means regeneration through one's own efforts. . . . Relying on the forces we ourselves organize, we can defeat all Chinese and foreign reactionaries." In an interview with Colonel David Barrett, the head of the U.S. Army Observer Group in Yenan, Mao stated: "What we have now is millet plus rifles; what you have is bread plus cannon. If you want to back Chiang Kai-shek, back him, back him as long as you want. But remember one thing. To whom does China belong? China definitely does not belong to Chiang Kai-shek, China belongs to the Chinese people. The day will surely come when you will find it impossible to back him any longer."

In the West it is usually assumed that the policy of "self-reliance" is a policy of "go it alone," but in fact it has nothing in common with notions of self-sufficiency or autarchy. The Chinese expression *"tse li gun sen"* means simply "regeneration by your own efforts." It is a policy particularly fitted to the specific social and economic conditions of China. In one aspect it stimulates local initiative and encourages the people to learn from their own experience. This feature was noticeably in evidence in 1957-58, when the cooperatives became involved in irrigation, bridge building and the other forms of local endeavor that led logically into the formation of the commune system in mid-1958.

Travelers to China have always commented on the frugality of the people, particularly noticeable in the countryside where nothing that can possibly be put to good use is wasted. This attitude helps to give material support to the policy of

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Roland Berger, director of the British Council for Promotion of International Trade, has made repeated trips to China since 1953 on behalf of British firms trading with China. Mr. Berger was formerly senior officer of the Technical Assistance Department of the United Nations.

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self-reliance at the grass roots. In its economic aspects the policy eminently suits a country so rich in natural resources.

Politically, self-reliance is a cardinal feature of China's domestic and foreign policy. Economic independence is looked upon as essential if economic relations between countries, whether large or small, are to be governed by principles of mutual benefit, mutual respect and true independence. The policy of "self-reliance" is seen as promoting international cooperation, not as opposition to it. In the Chinese view, the greater a country's economic strength the better the chance of economic cooperation with other countries. That "self-reliance" in the Chinese sense of the word has no absolutist overtones can be seen in China's foreign trade policy since liberation.

From 1950 to 1960 China's foreign trade steadily increased. The fall in agricultural production in the three years of the natural disasters inevitably reduced the total of China's exports and produced a drop in the total value of its foreign trade, but even in those years, by the substitution of one export for another (for example, the sale of silver bullion to Western Europe), China was able to prevent a too dramatic fall in its foreign trade. With an improved harvest in 1963 and what is likely to be a bumper crop in 1964, trade prospects with China are now much rosier, and industrialists from Western Europe and Japan are stepping up their activity to meet the new situation. China's 1964 trade with Great Britain is likely to approach, if not to surpass, the peak of 1960. Commerce between France and China has increased substantially and is likely to accelerate within the new diplomatic relations between the two countries. French exports to China rose from £16.3 million in 1962 to £21 million in 1963. Japan's trade turnover with China in 1963 increased by 62 per cent above 1962. It is likely to record an even more striking expansion in 1964.

Signs of economic recovery can be read in China's recent interest in complete installations and in increased imports of steel and machine tools. Britain has now delivered the last of its six Viscount aircraft to China; one of the leading British chemical engineering companies secured in 1963 a contract in excess of £2 million for a synthetic fertilizer plant, and last September I.C.I. and Simon Carves signed a contract in Peking for a £4.5 million polyethylene plant. From Italy, Montecatini is supplying two fertilizer plants for £7 million and Snam-Projetti (E.N.I.) a petroleum refinery plant for £3 million. The Dutch Stork-Werkspoor company has agreed to deliver a urea plant (£3 million) and the Dai Nippon Spinning Co. of Japan a £10 million plant to produce vinylon synthetic fibers. A Moroccan subsidiary of Berliet is supplying 250 heavy lorries to China at a price of more than £700,000.

The number of industrial exhibitions which Japan and the Western European countries are staging in China this year is further evidence of the attraction of the China market. For example, two specialized exhibitions of British equipment—scientific instruments and mining and construction equipment—have already been held in China in 1964 and a general engineering exhibition is opening this month. Western businessmen and economists anticipate that 1965 will be a "big year" in China trade. Joseph Alsop's "remorselessly descending spiral" (*China Quarterly*, September, 1962) today looks uncommonly like a sharply ascending curve.

The notion of harmony has always made a special appeal to the Chinese. In his report on the work of the government in 1957, Chou En-lai referred to "the world of universal harmony the Chinese people have always dreamed of." Since the new regime came to power in 1949, the problem of a balanced economic policy has been a main preoccupation. Chinese planners have been concerned to maintain an effective harmony between the various sectors of the economy. Thus in framing their plans Chinese economists have tried to establish a balance between heavy and light industry; between industry and agriculture; between the advanced mammoth plants and the small local factories using traditional methods; between extensive improvisation and the use of local materials and resources on the one hand and the importation of the most advanced types of plants and techniques on the other. This policy the Chinese refer to as "walking on two legs."

As the Chinese economy has developed since 1949, this "proportionate development" has been systematically refined and improved. One of its most interesting manifestations is the policy for agriculture published in October, 1960. It is of especial interest because it clearly represents the culmination of a series of discussions in economic and political circles, taking into account not only China's own experience but also that of other developing countries, and of the results of collectivization in other Socialist regimes. The Chinese announced their agricultural policy as a "scientific

Liang Yung-Tai

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summation of the experience of Socialist construction in our country," and "the most important component part of our general line for building socialism."

Although it was published during the period of harvest difficulties, the statement was clearly not prompted by immediate problems, but was designed to serve as a guiding light for economic development in general and agricultural progress in particular for many years to come. The policy in a fully rounded and comprehensive form was not produced until 1960, and in the period of economic development since 1949 the Chinese have been devoting much attention to laying a basis of heavy industry. None the less, it was never part of their strategy to play down the importance of agriculture. In fact, as early as 1934, Mao Tse-tung stated that "Agricultural production occupies first place in our economic construction" (report on economic policy, Juiking, Kiangsi Province).

The program adopted in 1960 of "taking agriculture as a foundation and industry as the dominant factor" in the economy was based upon an analysis of the links between the two most important sectors of the national economy and of the specific conditions of China. This showed that, in the period prior to 1960, farm produce had been used as raw materials for approximately half of the value of industrial output; about 80 per cent of the raw materials for light industry were derived from agriculture; about half of the country's total financial revenue was connected directly or indirectly with agriculture, and more than 70 per cent of Chinese export commodities were farm products and goods processed from these products.

The effect of giving light industry its place in the economy can now be seen in the department stores throughout China. Wherever I went during my last visits—Peking, Tientsin, Shenyang, Changsha, Wuhan and Canton—the stores were well stocked with a wide variety of consumer goods — radios, alarm clocks, bicycles and other durables—appropriate to the present stage of China's economic development. A wide range of men's, women's and children's clothing was available at very reasonable prices. Even on the communes, where the stores are naturally smaller, there appeared to be a good supply of consumer goods and a good market for them among the local people.

Most of those who have criticized the communes and tried to show that the whole commune system is breaking down pay little regard to the actual conditions of China—a vast country with a relatively undeveloped system of communications, wide variations of climate and soil, and with agriculture still at a relatively primitive level.

Given such conditions, the commune organization, by releasing local energies and initiative and employing local resources, was able to produce results in a comparatively short time which no degree of highly centralized planning and direction could possibly have achieved.

It was in fact a gigantic operation of pulling a nation up by its boot straps. It is difficult to see how the ravages of the three years of natural disasters could have been countered had it not been that these popular units of local government were able to respond to emergency conditions, to mobilize help from one commune to another, and to provide a democratic machinery by which the local populace could organize itself to meet the crisis. The commune organization is a striking example of the Chinese method of encouraging the people to learn from their own experience, and in the six years since the communes were formed certain features which in 1958 were conceived of as a national pattern have been modified. Today the communes are established as a basic form of organization for the countryside.

An aspect that particularly impresses the foreign visitor to the people's communes is their importance as a training ground for the local people—the 500 million or more peasants of China. Through the commune system, the rural population is being schooled in new techniques of agriculture: double cropping where single cropping was formerly the custom, mechanization, the development of fish-breeding stations, the use of selected seed, and the cultivation of new crops. By the introduction of light industry, the local people are being trained in techniques of cotton spinning, brick making, rice processing, ceramics and many other activities that depend upon the communes' own raw materials. Local training in farm and industrial management and in accounting has been essential as the system has become stabilized. In many cases this instruction takes simple forms appropriate to the primitive conditions that still exist. For example, the "Campaign of the Four Clearings" is a method of introducing peasants, unaccustomed to the techniques of management and accounting, to the simpler forms of administration.

Perhaps most important of all is the training in the practices of democracy implicit in the unit structure of the communes, the production brigades and production teams, and the commune committee. And it is taking place all over China—the communes are an outstanding example of community development running through the whole social, political and economic life of the countryside.

The people on the communes have been convinced, not by propaganda from Peking but by the practical results of their efforts, that the system works and works to their advantage. They see that the fruit trees and vegetable plots started in 1959 now provide the townspeople with an abundance of cheap fruit and vegetables and that the commune secures for itself a stable, indeed a rising, income. Such material benefits bring home to both sides, as no amount of prop-

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aganda could, the interests interlocking town and countryside.

The irrigation schemes started several years ago have been effective, despite drought in some areas and floods in others, in raising considerably the output of crops. The return on local industries and agriculture is providing funds which the production teams and brigades and the commune itself can invest in social benefits, in the beginning of agricultural mechanization and in new light industries and the expansion of old ones.

As I left the East Flower Commune in the Kwantung Province, the last of the six communes I visited during my 1963 tour, and looked across the well-irrigated paddies, brilliantly green with thickly planted rice, I was reminded of the propagandists in Hong Kong, Singapore and the West, most of whom have never been within a hundred miles of a commune, who had proclaimed that the system was grinding to a halt. And I wondered whether, if all the dozens of foreigners who in 1963 and 1964 visited these "liquidated" communes and found them flourishing were to raise their voices in unison, the news might come to the ears of Joseph Alsop and his fellow experts on disaster.

Jefferson City

The Pen That Just Grew . . .

Patrick J. Buchanan

St. Louis, Mo.

The Missouri Penitentiary for Men is one of the oldest and largest penal institutions in the United States—and perennially one of the bloodiest. It is deplored by campaigning politicians, neglected by entrenched officials, damned by a persevering press, and run by its hapless inmates.

It has been ever thus with the penitentiary at Jefferson City. Inaugurated during the second term of Andrew Jackson with the incarceration of one Wilson Edison, horse thief, it had exceeded its then capacity of forty within the first year. By 1854, investigators found it a "school for rogues" that rehabilitated its populace with whip, bread and water, ball and chain. In 1890, a graduate of the Kansas penal system, having been regaled by fellow inmates with past experience of Jefferson City, published *Twin Hells*, a book in which he deplored the mixing of first offenders with incorrigible criminals and questioned the practice of beating prisoners with the cat-o'-nine-tails "until the blood filled up their shoes."

Perhaps sensitive to this sort of criticism, the *Missouri Encyclopedia* of 1903 approached lyricism in its admiration of the penitentiary:

> *. . . discipline of the prison is perfect, morale of the prisoners is excellent due in large measure to the present and well-guarded system of employment and the influence of religious services and the library. Corporal punishment is almost unknown and solitary confinement is found necessary in comparatively few instances. The higher instincts of the men are appealed to through kind but firm treatment, but with salutary results.*

But Warden Bradberry was in charge in those days, and he once boasted: "I guess I have whipped more men than any man alive." And a former convict and a guard each wrote a book: *Buried Alive, or Eighteen Years in the Missouri Penitentiary* and *The Legions of Purgatory and Hell: The True Story of the Missouri Penitentiary.*

As Missouri grew, so did its penitentiary. In 128 years its plant mushroomed from 4 acres to 47 acres. Throughout the world, penal theories and methods of confinement changed, but the method at Jefferson City has remained the same: more buildings, more walls, more cells. The present product is described by the director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons as "a labyrinth of buildings, tunnels, roads, enclosed passageways, and stairways. . . . Some of the buildings [are] ill-adapted units, conceived and built according to a penal philosophy no longer practiced."

In one twenty-eight-month period, ending a year ago, 145 inmates of this warren were stabbed and seven died of their wounds. Nothing radical has been done to improve the odds for survival because convicts hire no lobbyists, and cadres of graduate volunteers do not patrol legislative halls buttonholing representatives for reform. A $1 million allocation to augment the guard force is not going to fatten anybody's plurality in an off-year election, while a new stretch of black top through New Madrid or Dunklin Counties just might.

Public debate on how to meet the "rising tide of crime in our streets" ends once the men thought responsible for this lawlessness are tucked safely behind prison walls. In fact, though, the attitude is shortsighted, for nineteen of the twenty who walk into the Jefferson City prison eventually walk out again, carrying with them the habits and memories of several years' existence in a quasi-jungle.

Today, however, for the first time since the riots of 1954, the climate is conducive to reform. Both gubernatorial candidates were pledged to do something about Jefferson City. The Assembly convenes New Year's Day, and State Representative Peter J. J. Rabbitt, chairman of the interim prison committee, is devoting his Saturdays to completing a report which should assure consideration of the prison problem in the 1965 session. It was Mr. Rabbitt's low-budget committee's inspection of the penitentiary which uncovered the brutality. A year ago last September, he led his committee on the required annual tour of penal facilities. He followed this up by writing a letter to the director of the Department of Corrections, Col. James D. Carter, suggesting correction of a few outstanding abuses.

Forty-eight hours later, a perturbed Gov. John M. Dalton harrumphed before TV cameras that the committee investigation was a publicity stunt, ordered Colonel Carter to ignore its recommendations, and decried this "usurping" of his executive powers. Rabbitt re-

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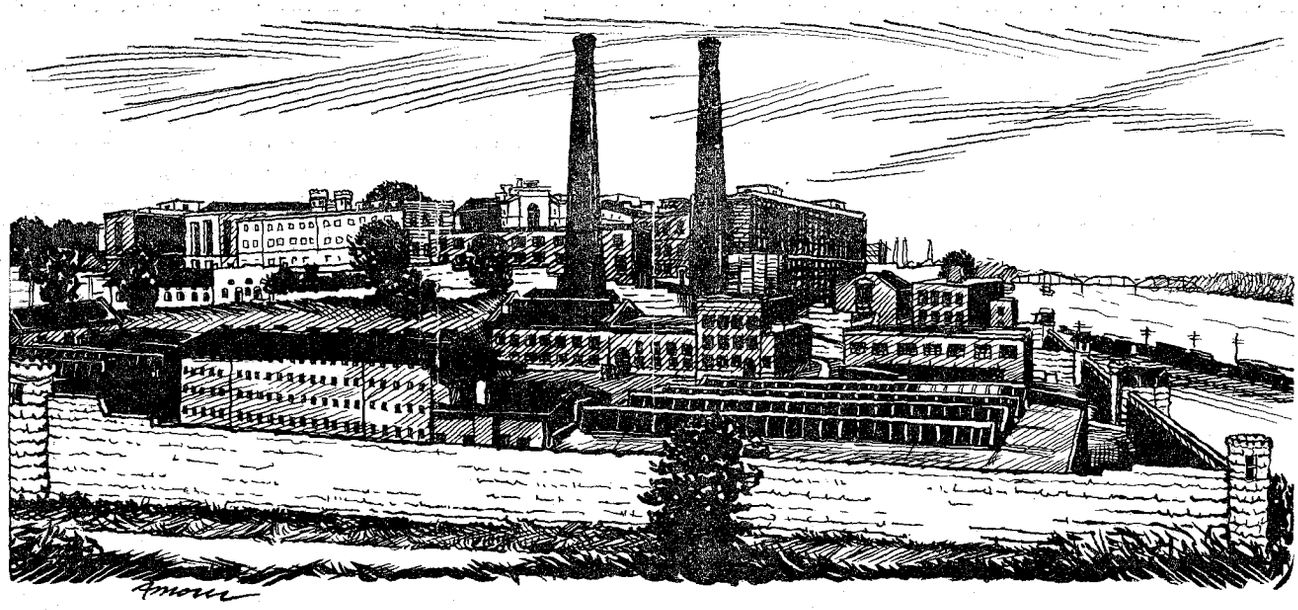

The Missouri Penitentiary for Men, Jefferson City

plied that he was only following state law, and it seemed for a few weeks that the lid was back on that embarrassing box. But then in mid-October, a 19-year-old boy was stabbed to death in the prison shower; shortly thereafter, a 24-year-old St. Louisan was cut to pieces in his cell and a third inmate, 57 years old, was knifed to death by his cell mate. This brought a "crackdown" by prison officials and the comment —"There isn't much you can do about it; these are hardened criminals"—from a more subdued Governor. Rabbitt's committee was called to the capital for an emergency session.

In executive session, prison doctor, Hugh W. Maxey, testified that an appalling 489 acts of violence had been reported during the same months that the 145 stabbings aformentioned occurred. They ranged from clubbings, burnings with acid, lye and coffee, on down to fist fights. Colonel Carter recommended that the prison be closed and a maximum security institution be constructed to house the "300 hardened criminals" in the penitentiary; meanwhile Warden E. V. Nash instituted a "stepped up" program of inmate shakedowns.

The investigating committee linked the brutality to gambling, drugs, sex affairs, poor physical facilities and low morale among the guards. What makes these problems—existing to some degree in almost every prison—next to insoluble in Missouri is the physical make-up of that 47-acre amalgam of walls and cells. The rambling, unorganized premises can conceal a thousand knives. A typical cell has two bunks, an overstuffed chair, shelves of canned goods, a homemade table, walls plastered with obscene pictures; every cell is a storehouse, causing one guard to lament, "You just can't shake one of them cells down."

Supposedly the prison is a maximum security institution, but the large population — 1,600, down from 2,200 a year ago—compels officials to run it on a medium security basis or abandon any attempt to rehabilitate the majority. Lack of qualified guards compounds the problem. Inmates act as "hall tenders" and "lever men," taking the count and overseeing the cell blocks. One ex-lever man told me that his functions had included transportation of syringes, eye droppers and dope. For four packs of cigarettes he would open doors to two cells so that inmates having affairs could visit together. He also managed the clandestine commissary.

Newly arrived prisoners have been reassigned to cells "for the benefit of other inmates," as Warden Nash delicately phrased it. One guard, recently caught at this form of pandering, was forced to resign. Rabbitt himself heard testimony that one youngster was "shifted ten times in a month."

The dope, the gambling, the commissary debts and the homosexual affairs promote the grudges; medium security allows for their violent settlement. While prison officials were rightly castigated for covering up the bloody statistics and for complacency in the face of appalling conditions—thus guaranteeing that an uninformed assembly would take no action — they are nevertheless confronted by a dilemma. If they provide movies, library and relative freedom at this prison, they have violence. If they prevent the violence by locking the place up at 5 P.M., they may also end the chances for rehabilitation. No one contends that prison officials have made the best of the difficult situation, but it is doubtful that any acceptable solution exists in the context of Jefferson City.

Thus Rabbitt's committee logically recommended considering a new maximum security prison. The Governor again took to TV, pooh-poohing the 145 stabbings as "part of a cycle," and adding, "It would be nice if we had $100 million for a new prison, but I'm not in favor of stripping away our state financial support for schools to give someone a country club."

That is the way the Southeast Missouri political mind works. While the above comment might snap the editorial pages of the big city press to indignant attention, it would strike a sympathetic chord elsewhere in the state. That the $100 million figure came out of the air, that no one had suggested a "country club," that there was no need to divert funds from anywhere, let alone from schools, failed to inhibit

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the Governor's politically sound pitch.

The year 1963 closed typically with New Year's Day papers carrying stories of how a berserk prisoner had murdered a 20-year-old inmate by opening his skull with a meat cleaver. January also brought Rabbitt's committee back for a surprise inspection of sanitary conditions in the kitchen and hospital. Convicts had told Rabbitt that the man to see about dope consumption in the penitentiary was James E. Carter, a forger employed in the prison hospital. But prisoner Carter was nowhere to be found when Rabbitt looked for him, and a brief investigation determined that he was no longer in residence. He had unearthed a gun in the prison and turned it over to Dr. Maxey. Prison officials had hastily called the parole board, which refused to release Carter; they then went to the Governor, who speedily commuted Carter's sentence to the time served. By the time of Rabbitt's "surprise" visit, his prime witness was headed for the Pacific Northwest, a free man and, one must assume, the bewildered beneficiary of an incredible display of executive dispatch.

In January, Myrl Alexander (now Federal Prison Director) and three experts also made a seventy-two-hour study of the prison. Their report was devastating. The guard force of 302 officers, consisting largely of former bellhops, taxi drivers, farmers and clerks, each earning $262 a month, was "underpaid, undertrained, uncertain of advancement, and unrecognized, except when trouble arises." These men were found to be "marking time along with their 2,200 charges."

Both Warden Nash and Colonel Carter expressed surprise that for eighteen months there had been no in-service training of guards. Communication at the prison "had all but broken down."

The Alexander report concluded: "The present inadequacy of the guard force . . . suggests that even a minor incident might trigger a disturbance of major proportions." To Missourians with memories of 1954 this meant only one thing—riot. Haunted by that specter, Governor Dalton demanded that the merit system for prison officials be jettisoned, that the man who was taking the responsibility should be given the power to hire and fire. Carter said Nash "had been too nice a guy" and Nash acknowledged "gross complacency down the line."

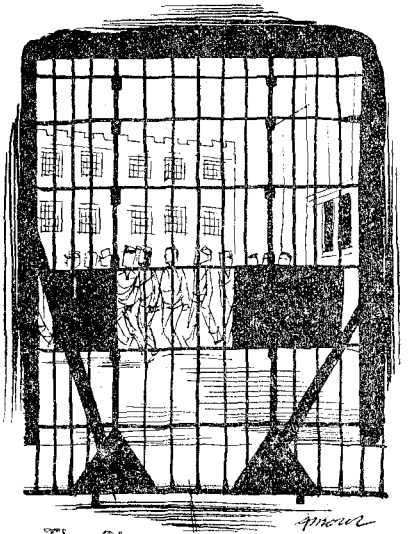
Warren Hearnes, soon to be elected Governor, then contributed to the controversy what is best described as his 2c worth when he recommended that all 1,900 prisoners not needing "maximum security" be put on parole, thus saving Missouri $2 million a year. This "idealistic" proposal failed to catch fire and has been forgotten.

But the report did produce a flurry of activity; salary hikes for guards, new sanitary standards for kitchen and hospital, new administrative and training procedures and a new coat of paint for "A" Hall. "A" Hall is a tale in itself.

If the penitentiary is a disgrace to Missouri, "A" Hall is an embarrassment to the penitentiary. Built in 1868, its three-man cells have historically housed Negro prisoners. When fire gutted "A" Hall in 1927, it was described as an "example of what a modern prison should not be." It was hastily rebuilt on the old model.

In 1938, a federal commission reported to President Roosevelt: "We cannot recommend that ["A" Hall] be continued in use at all unless alterations are made and the practice of confining six or seven men to a cell is discontinued." This summer, twenty-six years later, five and six Negroes were still being shoehorned into "A" Hall's cells. They were moved this fall, but not before one of the bloodiest episodes since the 1954 riots.

Common sense in a border state with a record of violence like Missouri's would almost dictate that prisoner integration not be attempted except in a ratio that would give the Negroes, as one white ex-con put it, "some protection in numbers." But Carter and Nash, in what must be the most savage example of token integration on record, divided eleven Negroes between two all-white halls in one cell block.



Within days of the shift, four of those Negro inmates were brutally knifed in mass and planned attack; one died. There have been no prosecutions for the murder; it would be optimistic to expect any, for the Cole County prosecutor has tried just one prison case in ten years.

The warden locked the halls up and removed privileges, but was forced to rescind his orders when the penned-up inmates became ugly. The din of their ruckus floated over the wall to Carter's house one weekend evening and he informed neighbor Nash who went across the street and shot the pacifying tear gas into the cells himself. Privileges were restored and it seemed that the inmates had decided to settle the matter themselves: the first day, as one of the "suspects" went out into the yard, he was crowned with a baseball bat.

In the last two months there has been a shifting of convicts to the new Moberly prison, to farms, honor camp and sawmill. Population at the penitentiary is down to about 1,600, but it would be folly for the new governor or assembly to think the problems have been solved.

"A" Hall is being retained as a disciplinary cell block. Convicts still hold authority, still run the prison. That means that gambling, drugs, sex affairs and violence will continue. Reducing population does not reduce the need for guards; there remain the same number of towers to man and cells to watch. The parole board needs more men; they are carrying twice the recommended work load.

The interim committee needs more than the niggardly $3,000 budget it got for inspecting prisons last session. The new committee chairman needs more cooperation from the new Governor than his predecessor got from the old one.

But in the end, an acceptable solution—one providing both rehabilitation and prisoner safety—cannot be found until that 128-year-old anachronism overlooking the Missouri River is scuttled. A fresh coat of paint for "A" Hall is not enough.

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Sorcery and Society

THE MORNING OF THE MAGICIANS. By Louis Pauwels and Jacques Bergier. Stein and Day. 300 pp. $5.95.

MAGIC, FAITH, AND HEALING. Edited by Ari Kiev. Free Press. 475 pp. $7.95.

CAN WE EXPLAIN THE POLTERGEIST? By A.R.G. Owen. Helix Press. 436 pp. $8.50.

Donovan Bess

Many people say the magic has gone out of life. That may be because they don't know very many magicians. Right now alchemists are patiently stirring up iron ore, metals and acids in the hope of getting a new element, with the help of cosmic influences. A French investigator, Louis Pauwels, writes in *The Morning of the Magicians* that he knows several alchemists at work in France and two in the United States.

We Americans like magic. But we neglect it, except as it applies to love, religious cults, gambling or the theatre. We let the advertising agencies subject us to sorcery for the good of the economy, but otherwise pretend our choices are rational. Then comes a charismatic man like John F. Kennedy. In 1960, millions battled to touch his coat sleeve in the hope of acquiring some of his quality. Lately, pubescent girls have been scrimmaging for Beatle cigarette butts for the privilege of enshrining them. The American flag may not touch the ground, lest the nation suffer a magical loss of power.

If we would admit that we like magic, we would be less susceptible to mystical inundations like those that covered Germany in the 1930s. As things stand, any talented medicine man could take over this country if he really worked at it. A number of our public figures have been working at it; fortunately, they have no real talent.

The flying-saucer movement has shown what promise America holds for the creative medicine man. So far, pilots, highway patrolmen, shepherds and deer hunters have gotten to see more saucers than the rest of us; that is because they get out of the cities, out from under the smog. We, in front of our television sets, are cut off from the kind of adventure Buck Nelson had in July, 1954, near Mountain View, Mo. Mr. Nelson saw three large saucers, and when he tried to approach the space people, they stunned him with a ray—which cured his lumbago and neuritis. You may say this was just a lucky stroke of psychotherapy, but it pointed up a need for more study of the relationship between faith and healing.

The basic manual for the modern medicine man is finally out. It is a collection of papers on primitive psychiatric practices, *Magic, Faith, and Healing*, edited by Dr. Ari Kiev, a research psychiatrist. It indicates that these primitive peoples are better than we are at figuring out who is sane and who is insane. In some of their practices they are way ahead of us; they frequently have better techniques for safe handling of people who lose their reason.

Take the Yoruba in Nigeria. Their shamans prescribe membership in secret fraternities for persons recuperating from mental illness. The convalescents are given "the sense of 'being watched over' by one's double, one's ancestors, and one's *Orisa* (minor diety). . . ." America's craving for such services was shown in our promotion of General Eisenhower to *Orisan* status; and again in the brief, brilliant career of Barry Goldwater, who gave his followers a sense of being cared for by their ancestors (the kindly folk who had churned their own butter and, as patriotism dictated, murdered Indians and Mexicans). The same craving was evidenced a generation ago in a popular song that plugged the theme of "someone to watch over me."

America's psychotherapists and religious healers, by comparison, are seriously deficient in their repertory of ritual. Take the Cochitis, in the Southwest. They even deal ritualistically with the problem of a child whose mother has died. They adopt him into another clan and give him several "mothers," who rename him, wash his head and give him ceremonial food to symbolize the shedding of his motherless personality. Again, take the Yoruba. They have elaborate *rites de passage* for persons leaving mental hospitals. The ceremony is far more impressive than a college commencement. Why shouldn't it be? The graduating psychotic merits much more in congratulations; and when he is dressed in a robe of white (for health) and he feels the blood of a dove (for tranquillity) running down his neck, and the assembled tribe gives three cheers for sanity, what can a man do? (Our mental-hospital managers would veto this idea on the ground that it is unprofessional, if not vulgar.) The Yoruba shamans also bombard their patients with suggestions. American psychotherapists shun suggestion on the ground that a cure without "insights" is somehow illegitimate; the advertising agencies are not so sensitive about manipulating motivation.

For our country, the primitives' knowledge of witch fighting is of special value, now that our women have most of the wealth and use lipstick at the age of 80. Of course, witchcraft is more overt among the primitives. At the Ibadan witches' club, in Nigeria, tattooed old women insist on having sexual intercourse with young men coming to them for help, including the anthropologists. Ibadan witches can "see all the abdominal viscera." One witch confessed that her club-initiation banquet began with human soup. Some of the Ibadan men felt threatened, and organized an anti-witch society. That might be a thought for our country. We need some safer way of containing the woman-fearing energy that goes into motorcycle and rifle clubs.

But just as soon as you admit there are witches, and that you hate them, another danger appears. Among some pueblo dwellers in New Mexico, "practically everyone is suspected by someone at sometime of being a witch" and the "accusations are rarely specific as to the nature of the witchcraft or the identities of the victims." The people, "helpless in their lack of ritual knowledge, seek aid from the medicine societies." (The House Un-American Activities Committee certainly could make use of a staff shaman to direct its witch hating into constructive channels.)

The good American believes that his

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environment is bursting with health, and that if you don't adjust to it you must be unpatriotic. The psychotic, for instance, is often viewed as a man who malingers almost to the point of treason. This philosophy gained great impetus from the late General Patton in his relations with troops diagnosed as having combat fatigue; he nearly threatened to shoot one of them. Primitive therapists, however, recognize that the environment itself can be sick, can have illnesses such as the low-pay syndrome. In Sierra Leone, "requests are often made to the native doctors for something to increase salary, to pass examinations, or to make the boss more favorable." The secret-society spirits in Sierra Leone "have not sanctioned the emergence of urbanization" there. (Have our spirits sanctioned automation and freeways?) The Navaho hand-trembler (diagnostician) can locate the real difficulty whether it lies "in the unfaithfulness of a wife, lost sheep or some type of mental illness."

Such pragmatism contrasts with the transcendental approach of educated men like Pauwels, who hope to cure mankind itself by setting up what he calls the "awakened" state. It would be "in contradiction to all the disciplines" and contain "the methods of theologians, scientists, magicians and children." If I understand M. Pauwels properly, he would like to hold conventions of ministers, priests, scientists, alchemists and children. Would the children have equal voting power? Or would they only be seated as experts?

M. Pauwels might also invite Army Gen. Herbert C. Holdridge (Ret.), who was graduated from West Point in 1917, and now has established the Constitutional Provisional Government of the United States in Washington, D.C. (P.O. Box 19103). He recently sent newspaper editors a two-page release from his headquarters. He condemned both of our major political parties and wrote with excitement of an automobile journey in which "many invisible Indian passengers" took part and even "amused themselves by witty comments on the White Man's two-way 'trails.'" The release indicates that General Holdridge lingers in the charges of the Fifth Cavalry, his first regiment. He seems to be closer to the national past than many of us, and is certainly closer to the national unconscious mind. His interest in Indians, therefore, may be a sign that we, as a people, have a subliminal urge to bring our country's primitive wisdom into the nuclear age.

It is distressing to report that in England—a country notorious for its common sense—the supernatural is sometimes approached in a less earthy way. Take the case of Dr. A. R. G. Owen, a lecturer in genetics at Trinity College, Cambridge, who has just written a big book called *Can We Explain The Poltergeist*? The poltergeist, as you know, is an athletic spirit that behaves like a neurotic small boy with an IQ of 60. It loves to rattle dishes, ripple bed sheets, waggle furniture—to do anything to get attention. It gets plenty from Dr. Owen (436 pages). He raises such questions as: "If (the poltergeist) is a component of the 'medium's' personality, is it extroverted or introverted? . . ."

Sometimes it is hard to understand why almost everything that gets written gets published. Well, a magical belief in the written word seems to run deep in us. One of the investigators in Dr. Kiev's anthology reports that in some Turkish rural regions "we have encountered patients talking about boiling the doctor's prescription sheet and drinking the water, which is believed to absorb the curative power of the writing."

We need magic in the United States. But we do not need it to spill all over our rational life. This year, while our anthropologists, psychologists and psychiatrists were rummaging in the psyches of the Apaches, the Eskimos and the Ndembu, what were we doing? We were listening, for instance, to speeches by Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker (Ret.), and applauding him at service-club luncheons and publishing his words at length in our newspapers. A number of us from time to time were "speaking in tongues" at prayer meetings. Dr. Jerome Frank, in his introduction to the Kiev anthology, told how a psychiatric outpatient from West Virginia, who was not "in any sense psychotic," had "stoutly affirmed the existence of vampires and was convinced that her grandmother was a witch." About three decades ago, the Mercury Theatre of the Air produced an Orson Welles program on the invasion from Mars. The announcer explained three times that the Martians and the death rays were fictional. The radio listeners did not want to hear *that*. All over the country they panicked.

We need magic. We need it to use against our malignant anxiety and our

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fixation on ecstasy. (Any bliss is better than no bliss, so if you can't be in love, be in hate. It won't be long until the smash hit is: "I'm in hate, I'm in hate, I'm in hate with a horrible guy.")

We need better rites—the kind that can capture our primitivity and segregate it from the intellect. Dr. T. Adeoye Lambo, writing in the Kiev anthology, tells how he and another psychiatrist in Nigeria "have for a number of years made use of the services of African 'witch doctors.'" He is a courageous man, and he can help us, for we, too, need medicine men who will absorb our hate. Their ceremonies would damage attendance at the American Legion posts, but they might spare us another Presidential campaign like the one just past.

The Frontier Within

LSD: The Consciousness-Expanding Drug. Edited by David Solomon. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 273 pp. $5.95.

William H. McGlothlin

This book consists of a collection of articles about d-lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD,) most of them published separately in recent years. Actually, a number of other drugs and plants are also discussed (peyote, mescaline, psilocybin, etc.), but their mental effects sufficiently resemble those of LSD so that the group may be treated as a whole.

In starting to write this review, I immediately experience the same semantic dilemma as do a number of the authors represented in the anthology. The generic term I choose for these drugs places me uncomfortably on one side or the other of a controversy. "Consciousness-expanding" and "psychedelic" (mind-manifesting) have come to connote quite positive features; the other choices, "hallucinogenic" and "psychotomimetic" (psychosis-mimicking), are equally prejudicial, as well as inaccurate. Since I prefer to maintain some semblance of neutrality, I shall use the term "consciousness-changing."

The word "drug" presents the same difficulty. The accepted use of a drug is in treating illness and returning a patient to normalcy; attempts to produce paranormal experiences with drugs is considered escapism at best, and at worst, leads to addiction. (We do not think of alcohol in this manner, although as Burroughs points out, "it *is* our national drug.") The safest and simplest way to discuss consciousness-changing drugs is to try to avoid conflict with the cultural preconceptions of the good and bad roles of drugs. Most of the literature on LSD has followed this pattern; the reader is handed a neatly packaged assessment, the gist of which is that these drugs may be beneficial to humanity in the investigation of mental chemistry and possibly for psychotherapy, but have the capacity for doing great harm if used for other purposes. Solomon has selected a group of authors who make valiant attempts to transcend these rigid semantic boundaries. In fact, a recurrent feature of much of the book is a strong emphasis on transcending not only semantic but personal and cultural boundaries: Aldous Huxley feels these drugs may facilitate "the art of cutting holes in cultural fences"; Leary, seeing beyond one's personal games; Osmond, a seeing of the universe with an innocent eye without acquired assumptions; and Watts, a cure for the separateness of man and his environment.

Since Timothy Leary is the leading proponent of this position, about one-third of the book is either by or about him. To be sure, Huxley preceded him and wrote more eloquently, but, for better or worse, it is Leary's actions that have attracted public attention and mobilized resistance. His message in an early paper, "How to Change Behavior," is that behavioral change comes by understanding and seeing beyond personal and cultural games via an altered state of consciousness. While trauma, sensory deprivation and various other methods may produce such states, Leary favors the "efficient" psychedelic drugs. While his procedures are somewhat unorthodox—such as the experimenter taking the drug with the subject—he still describes experiments with volunteers and prisoners in the traditional way—with samples, procedures and results. He stresses the set, or expectation of the subject; and setting, or environment under which the drug is given, as the primary determining factors.

In the lengthy introduction to the present book, written some three years later, Leary gives no hint of applying or advocating an experimental, scientific approach to the subject. It is not clear exactly what course of action he advocates, but he is definitely pessimistic about achieving his goals through conventional scientific methodology. He is impressed with the explosion of scientific knowledge in physics, genetics, etc., but is highly impatient with the failure of man's internal awareness to keep pace. He feels that only a minute fraction of the brain is available for use; that it may be imprisoned by something analogous to *imprinting*. He follows this analogy through a *suspension* of imprinting with psychedelic drugs and a subsequent planned *re-imprinting*.

It is interesting to note that Leary's goals are no different from Huxley's. The latter writes, "We must discover, and discover very soon, new energy resources for overcoming our psychological inertia, better solvents for liquifying the sludgy stickiness of an anachronistic state of mind." Huxley goes on to suggest the use of psychedelic drugs as one approach. But he quickly asks the question of its feasibilty, "Is this a hopefully utopian dream? Experiment can give us the answer, for the dream is pragmatic; the utopian hypotheses can be tested empirically." Leary's hypothesis of imprinting is certainly not self-evident. He might do well to reconsider before discarding the most powerful method of preventing self-deception that man has discovered. It should be noted that the dozen or so articles about Leary appearing in the last year and a half have presented a quite biased picture. Whatever the merit of their criticisms, they made no attempt to present his position.

Two articles in this collection do much to restore the balance. Dan Wakefield's "A Reporter's Objective View" is indeed objective and well researched; Alan Harrington's "A Visit to Inner Space" provides a uniquely honest account of an LSD session conducted in a Leary-type setting. His subjective description is noteworthy, not because it adds one more flowery account of an LSD experience but because it has an air of life and genuineness not often encountered in such reports.

Huston Smith contributes an interesting argument on whether the mystical-religious experiences sometimes

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William H. McGlothlin is currently principal investigator for a study of the long-term effects of LSD on anxiety, attitudes and performance, sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health.

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induced by consciousness-changing drugs are identical with naturally occurring phenomena of this type. He concludes that they are, and goes on to manage a delicate balance between the questions of whether this demonstrates that the natural, religious experience is in fact a psychotic-like escape from reality, or whether these drugs may not add the vital ingredient of religious experience which has been badly lacking in Western churches. Future interest in this direction may be considerable. At least one psychedelic church has recently been incorporated and others will probably follow.

Solomon offers a somewhat limited treatment of the use of consciousness-changing drugs in psychotherapy. Osmond's "Review of the Clinical Effects" is the classic article in which he coined the term "psychedelic," but it was written in 1957, and affords only a very sketchy account of LSD in psychotherapy. Cole and Katz summarize the medical position from the standpoint of the National Institute of Mental Health. They regard the psychotherapeutic value of consciousness-changing drugs as unproven, but sufficiently promising to warrant systematic study. It would have been helpful to have a review of the work done in other countries, especially England, where some hospitals have used LSD in psychotherapy for as long as fourteen years.

Unger gives an enthusiastic account of the single, high-dose technique developed for treatment of alcoholics in Canada, and reports that the Saskatchewan Department of Public Health now considers this a proven technique "to be used where indicated" in the treatment of alcoholism. One recent development in the United States is the awarding of government grants for some three or four studies of the use of LSD in treating alcoholism. Since the resultant data will provide a clear-cut criterion for evaluating therapeutic effectiveness, we should have a less equivocal assessment in this area within two or three years.

The primary theme of the book, however, is infinitely more complex than whether or not consciousness-changing drugs will prove to be an effective psychiatric tool. In Huxley's words:

Always desirable, widespread training in the art of cutting holes in cultural fences is now the most urgent of necessities. Can such training be speeded up and made more effective by a judicious use of the physically

let her love you

VENUS PERALTA, FILIPINA, AGE 4. One of five children. Father dead. Mother earns about 50c a day. Sells fish in market. Lives in one-room shack in squatter area. Roof rusty galvanized tin salvaged from cans. Walls scraps of firewood. Cooking and washing done in lean-to. Children ragged. Main food source sweet potato patch. Privation acute. Mother sickened with despair for children. Help to Venus means help to whole family.

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harmless psychedelics now available? On the basis of personal experience and the published evidence, I believe that it can.

Is it possible for persons who have not had drug-induced or other experiences of this type to understand what these authors are saying? Osmond thinks not: "Those who have had these experiences know, and those who have not had them cannot know and, what is more, the latter are in no position to offer a useful explanation." I do know that it is very difficult to return to these states of consciousness even though one has previously experienced them. "Difficult" is probably the wrong word —it seems to be impossible through rational striving, but they may occur in some degree without apparent effort when rational thought is suspended. As William James noted, "they are so discontinuous with ordinary consciousness."

Meanwhile, back in the real world, Cole and Katz struggle with how to impose a Western value scale on certain personality changes which have been associated with the consciousness-changing drugs:

. . . how should one evaluate outcome if an individual were to divorce his wife and take a job which paid him less but which he said he enjoyed more than his previous job? If a person becomes more relaxed and happy go lucky, more sensitive to poetry or music, but less concerned with success or competition, is that good?

I don't know. George Mills said, "Beyond good and evil there is only good."

Defective Detectives

THE ERASERS. By Alain Robbe-Grillet. Translated by Richard Howard. Grove Press. 256 pp. $4.95.

ALAIN ROBBE-GRILLET AND THE NEW FRENCH NOVEL. By Ben F. Stoltzfus. Southern Illinois University Press. 166 pp. $4.50.

Vivian Mercier

The Erasers (Les Gommes, 1953) is Alain Robbe-Grillet's first novel, at last translated into English. The unprepared reader, whether familiar with Robbe-Grillet's later novels or not, will probably enjoy this one. He will begin by reading it as a straight detective story and eventually decide that it is an elaborate parody of that genre of fiction. The detective, Wallas, does not discover until too late that the supposed murder victim, Daniel Dupont, has merely been wounded and then hidden, in the hope of tricking the "murder organization" and its "mastermind" into a false step. For security reasons, neither the detective nor the local police have been informed by the authorities in the capital of the true state of affairs. Hence a train of coincidences (call it fate if you wish) culminates with the detective killing the man whose "murder" he is supposed to be solving exactly twenty-four hours after the would-be killer's failure. At the same moment, elsewhere in the unnamed provincial city, another Dupont, Albert, is being murdered by the organization.

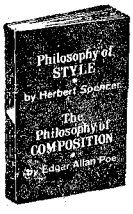
Many seemingly irrelevant details of the urban landscape are described with that meticulous engineer's precision which has become notorious in Robbe-Grillet's later novels. In spite of my awareness that very little, if anything, is irrelevant in those novels, and in spite of the quotation from Sophocles on the title page, I accepted some of these details as the usual detective-story red herrings, intended to mislead the gullible reader. Turning to Ben F. Stoltzfus' chapter on *The Erasers,* I found that beneath the surface there lies an elaborate parallel with the Oedipus story: Daniel Dupont is the detective's father, although the book ends with Wallas still in ignorance of this fact. Still a little incredulous, not to say embarrassed by my obtuseness, I went on to read Stoltzfus' source, Bruce Morrissette's long article in *Wisconsin Studies in Contemporary Literature,* Vol. I. I was relieved to learn that nobody except Samuel Beckett had seen the parallel when the book first appeared. The French publishers ultimately had to issue a pamphlet revealing the secret, and I think Grove Press ought to have alerted their readers by a hint in the blurb. (Incidentally, readers puzzled by the novel's title and by Wallas' constant search for a special brand of eraser should note page 126 of the translation. The eraser he is trying to match has only two letters of the brand name left: "di," the middle syllable of "Oedipus.")

Stoltzfus' own contribution to critical analysis of *The Erasers* is limited to discussing the "resolution" of Wallas' "Oedipus complex." But I understand it is an old gag in psychiatric circles to say that Oedipus was one man who never had an Oedipus complex, because he never met his father until the moment he killed him; the same applies to Wallas, who furthermore never did discover his "father's" identity.

Whatever one feels about the artistic value of the Oedipus parallel (and the even better concealed references to the Tarot deck of cards used for fortune telling) there is evident in *The Erasers* a concern with the nature of reality that links it with Robbe-Grillet's later work. Quite early in the novel we are allowed to observe the murder attempt as it actually happened and the wounded Daniel's concealment afterward. Later, as is customary in detective stories, we meet with numerous hypothetical reconstructions of the crime, all in their different ways erroneous. As Robbe-Grillet says in one of his critical articles, "*Autour de nous . . . les choses* sont là." ("Around us . . . things *are there.*") People, too, and their actions *are there.* It is our interpretations—whether of things, people or actions —that go astray.

Stoltzfus' firm grasp of this central fact about Robbe-Grillet gives his book considerable merit, in spite of repetitiousness and errors of details. His chapters on *The Voyeur* and *Jealousy* and on the published script for the film *Last Year at Marienbad* are much better than the book as a whole. In summing up *The Voyeur* as "a novel of objective subjectivity," he gives the essence of his critical position. A great deal that has been written (some of it by the novelist himself) about Robbe-Grillet's objectivity and his *chosisme*—his "thingism," the preoccupation with inanimate objects—has proved almost en-

Vivian Mercier is at present on sabbatical leave from the City College of the City University of New York to write a book on the French New Novel. It will be published by Farrar, Straus and Giroux.



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tirely misleading. Robbe-Grillet's current position is clearly stated in an article, "The Case for the New Novel," translated in the February 17, 1961, issue of the *New Statesman*. On the vexed question of subjectivity he speaks very explicitly:

> *Not only is it a man who, in my novels, describes everything, but the least neutral, least impartial of men: he is constantly engaged in the most obsessive of passionate adventures, to the point where his vision is often distorted, his imaginings often close to delirium.*

Not only does Stoltzfus understand this but he distinguishes sharply between the moments when the jealous husband in *Jealousy* surveys the banana plantation with a neutral, professional eye and those when he projects all the emotions which seethe within him into an observation of the stain left by a crushed centipede.

A preoccupation with "point of view" (who is telling the story or observing the events?, from what angle?) is one of the hallmarks of the French New Novelists. Stoltzfus deals with this in his opening chapter but manages to confuse the issue seriously by implying that until the New Novel came along all novelists were in the habit of editorializing, of commenting in their own persons upon characters and events in their fiction. What *is* new in the New Novel, as Stoltzfus himself says at one point, is "the abolition of the omniscient author": not merely the omniscient author who editorializes but the all-knowing author per se, who knows all there is to know about at least one of his characters. The New Novelists' rejection of omniscience grows naturally out of their preoccupation with realism, of which they have a more sophisticated concept than those prevailing in earlier schools of realist fiction; as Freud and others have shown, none of us can know everything about himself, let alone about anyone else.

In *Last Year at Marienbad*, for example, I feel that nothing in the movie claims to be viewed objectively, not even when the camera is aimed at the ceiling. Certainly the scenes from "last year," with their too-bright lighting, are more subjective than those from "this year," for the very good reason that the former never took place at all except in the mind of the lover. But the this-year scenes have something not quite real about them as well; it is as though they were viewed through the hallucinated eye of the lover even when he himself happens to be in front of the camera. Eventually the girl accepts his "imaginings often close to delirium" and acts as if his version of her past were the true one. Yet, Stoltzfus rightly insists, her departure with the lover is not an escape but an entrapment. Unless, as Denis Johnston has suggested in a talk dealing incidentally with *Marienbad*, the past is as open as the future and can be changed retrospectively. In a neglected book review in *Critique* (Vol. IX, 1953), Robbe-Grillet himself has written with approval of the notion of a "modifiable past." Already in *The Erasers* we find two contradictory accounts of the same conversation, each containing several identical speeches, although both seem to be presented from the same omniscient point of view. There's a fine bone for us critics to gnaw on!

The Repertory Theater of Lincoln Center's production of *The Changeling* will be reviewed by Lionel Abel in the November 23 issue.

YOU MUST CARE, PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Hundreds of eminent Americans care. They say Morton Sobell is innocent and must go free. President Johnson, as you start your first full term of office, act on this PETITION.

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RECORDS

BACH: Four Orchestral Suites. Paillard Chamber Orchestra, Jean-François Paillard, cond. Epic SC 6047/BSC 147.
Two and Three Part Inventions. Glenn Gould, piano. Columbia ML 6022/MS 6622.

The Orchestral Suites are not the profound explorations of *Klangfarbenform* that one finds in the *Brandenburg Concertos*, but rather an orchestral analogue of the keyboard suites, in their tracing of loose conventional outlines that are progressively transformed into individual compositional shapes. Nor, on the other hand, do they require the virtuosic resources from either soloists or ensembles that the *Brandenburgs* demand; in this respect, they also mirror the "amateur-performance" approach of the two- and three-part inventions, where seemingly "easy" pieces emerge from under their unsuspecting player's fingers as highly complex and ramified structures, to his presumed astonishment and delight. The Paillard ensemble's performances of the Suites are a fascinating demonstration of Bach's ingenuity in this regard, since they consist mainly of clear, but rather naive and literal, simultaneous traversals of the individual parts, whose almost fortuitous-seeming conjunction nevertheless projects many of the work's flashes of insight and imaginative relation. Otherwise, except for some tempos that are too fast for the pieces and the players, and a certain exaggeration of inner-voice details (some of which, however, like the cross-rhythmed counterpointing in the second Passepied of Suite I, are quite revealing) and accentual nuances, which tend to expose rather than conceal the underlying squareness, the playing is generally reliable, and occasionally even distinguished in accuracy of intonation and attack. In particular, the characteristically piercing, clean, but somehow timbrally unbrilliant French trumpet sound is an ideal component for the ensemble of the third and fourth Suites, spreading a clear film over the texture through which every other part can be perceived, rather than submerging everything else under the usual throaty blast. And Maxenne Larrieu's flute playing in the second Suite, although it now and again shares the nervous rigidity of the rest, is sensitive not only in its own sound but in its realization of the flute's fluctuating relation to the ensemble foreground, moving just in front and behind it, rather than ever disappearing entirely or becoming an obtrusive conventional "solo."

In his performances of the Inventions, Glenn Gould's affectation of naïveté precisely reverses the Paillard approach in its deliberate, disingenuous pseudo-amateurism. Here, everything is carefully chosen to be as drably routine as possible: characterless piano-lesson tempos, evenly punched-out articulations interspersed with inexplicable hesitations and accents that sound like awkward "mistakes," a pseudo-clavichord sound achieved by doctoring the piano (all "explained" by Mr. Gould in a whimsical program note written with the crochety abandon of a wealthy English eccentric).

All of this suggests that Mr. Gould has finally allowed his boredom with the admittedly trying routine of performance to extend to music itself, and is now impelled to amuse himself by the unlimited indulgence of his eccentricity; in this case, the game seems to be to see how much sheer dullness can be perpetrated under the pretense of a rigorous devotion to an "interpretive" idea. And just in case any listener might be tempted to attribute the lugubrious display to a decline in pianistic powers, Mr. Gould was also careful to include two or three blindingly fast performances that make no better musical sense, but do demonstrate that in the perfect execution of ornaments and the consummate control of a flood of notes, he is still untouchable.

BARTOK: *The Miraculous Mandarin* Suite.
Music for Strings, Percussion, and Celesta. London Symphony Orchestra, Georg Solti, cond. London CM 9399/CS 6399.

The *Miraculous Mandarin* is a remarkable early instance of Bartók's attempt to construct associative bridges between the new sounds and contours of 20th-century music and traditional coherence and continuity. In this, his approach resembled Schoenberg's more than Stravinsky's, but since the sound of his work was always based on strong tonal associations reheard and recombined in startling new ways, its external characteristics seem more closely to follow Stravinsky's development. The connection is particularly apparent in the invocation of traditional appearances in sound and style (such as the "fugue," "sonata" and "rondo"-like movements, and the tonal chords, "imitations" and "cadences" at strategic formal joints in the *Music for Strings, Percussion, and Celesta* and elsewhere) beginning in the twenties, and the appearance of an occasionally egregious "diatonicism" in the very latest works.

And just as in Stravinsky's work the most obviously "revolutionary" music, that of *Le Sacre*, is actually far less "revolutionary" in its compositional implications than some deceptively simple later works—the Symphony of Psalms, for example—so the obstreperous "bite" of the *Mandarin's* searing shrieks and volatile surface contours and rhythms are essentially a brittle overlay on a rather tame Straussian subsurface, while the seeming literalness and square "neoclassic" gestures of much of the *Music for Strings*, etc., provide the framework for an extraordinary relational idea. In fact, what Bartók attempted in the first two movements of the *Music* was a new synthesis of traditional coherence (such as Schoenberg attempted to re-create) and traditional sonic contexts (in the Stravinskian sense) through a non-twelve-tone serialism evolved from the techniques of both men, but uniquely formulated for Bartók's personal purposes. This is, essentially, the source of the "late-Beethoven" sound of his middle-period quartets and of the first and second movements (the "fugue" and "sonata") of the *Music for Strings, Percussion, and Celesta*—for late Beethoven, too, is in a sense a recombination of historically disparate elements, fugue and sonata, Bach contrapuntal continuity and Classic motivic articulation, into a singular personal syntax.

Solti's performances are characteristic of the prevailing tendency to comprehend and control "new" music by subsuming it within a familiar, generalized formal context, rather than by any penetration into its individually unique properties. In both the *Mandarin* and the *Music*, this results in a superficially solid and accurate performance, whose very ease and security in "solving" rhythmic and sonorous problems underscores all the conventional tendencies of the works and slights their special qualities. Thus the fugue of the first movement of the *Music* is taken at a pace that succeeds in making it as "accessible" as a trivial counterpoint exercise, although the use of a full orchestra rather than the chamber ensemble that Bartók specified introduces considerable textural confusion here and elsewhere, especially under the conditions of Solti's unusually fast tempos.

BENJAMIN BORETZ

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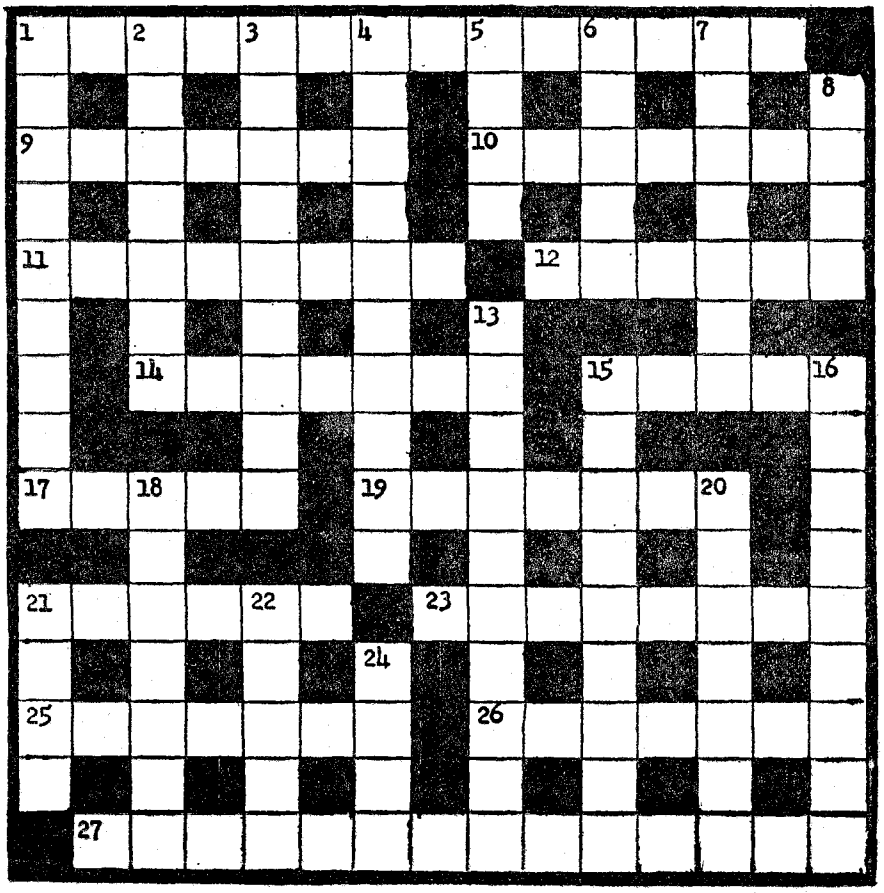
Crossword Puzzle No. 1080

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Argentine flag? (The country is on it.) (6, 8)
9 The type of story found in the Decameron. (7)
10 Was this foreign land settled by such as Murat? (7)
11 Is study a point of the church, or just what traitors might do?
12 A common complaint of the game species. (6)
14 How can one tolerate a bad match so? (7)
15 It's an indeterminate sound, however expressed. (A musical bagpiper, and not there!) (5)
17 Muffed a grounder? (5)
19 Made par. (7)
21 Changed the course secured temporarily. (6)
23 Came over the wall, perhaps. (8)
25 Bent nail, put in what might relate to a hitch. (7)
26 What's the matter with your garden? This type might help.(7)
27 In the manner of excessive showers? (14)

DOWN:

1 Lied in it, as Daisy Bell's way of getting around. (4, 5)
2 and 21 down What people have to earn sound like one presumed to be a doctor. (11)
3 A solid mass of soil, piled haphazardly. (9)
4 They might go around well, with frequent landings. (10)
5 This ran out of the money, as well.
6 and 8 Object with violent feelings when there's an extra charge to load something. (9)
7 Ask for a second handout? (You might print, if the lines show.)
8 See 6 down
13 What the arbitrator did when the critical strike was over? (7, 3)
15 It might help you distinguish 21 down, but it takes plenty of do-re-mi! (9)
16 You might associate this with Ferdinand's domain. (9)
18 Precise directions? (7)
20 Do they make the set tend to be engaged occasionally? (7)
21 See 2 down
22 The relatively small type, by choice. (5)
24 What's the story about? One should be able to dig it! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1079

ACROSS: 1 Boy soprano; 6 Fare; 10 Earldom; 11 and 24 Go to the dogs; 12 Knar; 13 Disappoint; 15 Needles; 16 Da Vinci; 17 Trances; 20 Parapet; 22 Enchanting; 23 Aria; 25 Evil eye; 26 Atomist; 27 Sigh; 28 Reconsider. DOWN: 1 Breaking the news; 2 Yardage; 3 Odds; 4 Remains; 5 Niggard; 7 Antlion; 8 Electric toaster; 9 Stopovers; 14 Blockades; 18 Arching; 19 So there; 20 Pintado; 21 Parried.

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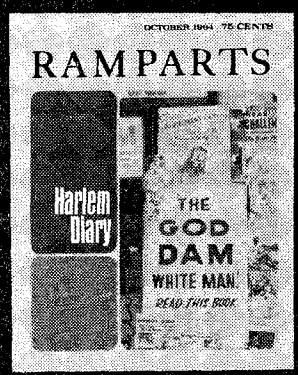

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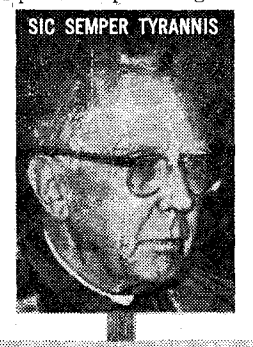

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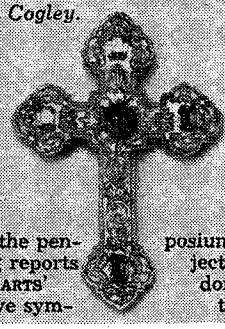

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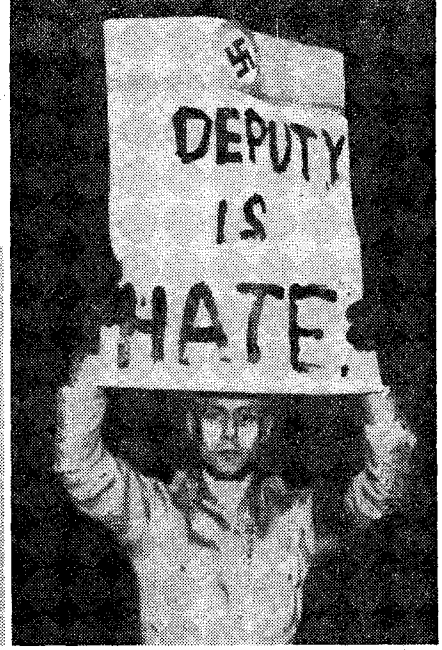

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